

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 CU-04

DHA-05 /069 W

-----032976 202345Z /70

O R 202210Z OCT 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3005

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: CSCE OCON

SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- US-SOVIET BASKET ONE EXCHANGE ON NON-
INTERVENTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SUMMARY: US AND SOVIETS CLASHED IN BASKET ONE WORKING
BODY OCTOBER 20 WHEN SOVIETS REACTED SHARPLY TO STRONG
STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG THAT NON-INTERVENTION
IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS PRINCIPLE CANNOT BE INVOKED TO
PREVENT INQUIRY INTO HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS INCLUDING
CHARTER 77 TRIAL AND "REPRESSION OF INDIVIDUALS IN
THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA." SOVIET REP
(VORONTSOV) WARNED OF "MOST DANGEROUS" TURN OF EVENTS
BELGRADE MEETING HAS TAKEN. WHILE HE DID NOT THREATEN
THAT SOVIETS MIGHT LEAVE MEETING, GDR REP SAID THAT IF
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US CONTINUES SUCH ATTACKS, DELEGATIONS WILL FIND THAT
IN MID-FEBRUARY ONLY THING THEY WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE
ON IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS SINGLE SENTENCE
EXPRESSING THANKS TO YUGOSLAVIA FOR HOSPITALITY.
SUBSEQUENT TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S SPEECH, UK,
REFERRING DIRECTLY TO US INTERVENTION, AND SWEDEN
STRONGLY SUPPORTED WEST'S RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER SOVIETS HAD DELIVERED ROUTINE STATEMENT COMBINING HOMILY ON NEED TO RESPECT NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE AND FULSOME PRAISE FOR SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DELIVERED MAJOR STATEMENT ON NON-INTERVENTION-HUMAN RIGHTS NEXUS. HE SAID THAT SOVIETS, CZECHS, GDR AND BULGARIA "HAVE RESORTED TO A COMPLETELY UNWARRANTED INTER- PRETATION OF PRINCIPLE SIX IN THIS ATTEMPT TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN MATTERS UNPALATABLE TO THEM." AMBASSADOR GAVE BRIEF LEGAL ANALYSIS DEMONSTRATING THAT SIXTH PRINCIPLE REFERS TO FORCIBLE ACTIONS. AS ILLUSTRATION OF TYPES OF CASES COVERED BY PRINCIPLE, HE MADE INDIRECT REFERENCE TO 1968 INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT US AND OTHER DELEGATIONS ARE ONLY FULFILLING RESPONSIBILITY UNDER FINAL ACT FOLLOW-UP PROVISIONS WHEN THEY "RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE OF OTHER STATES, WITH REFERENCE TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, AS THEY DID YESTERDAY IN REFERRING TO THE PRAGUE TRIAL AND REPRESSION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA SEEKING IN A PEACEFUL WAY TO MONITOR THEIR COUNTRIES' IMPLEMENTATION."

2. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG SAID THAT EAST BLOC CLAIM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO BE SOLE JUDGE OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND REFUSAL TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE "WOULD COMPLETELY FRUSTRATE THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE AND REDUCE IT TO A MEETING IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED IN MERE PLATITUDES." IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE, HE SAID, "THIS ATTITUDE, THIS APPROACH CANNOT BE ACCEPTED BY THIS CONFERENCE." AMBASSADOR PROMISED THAT HE WOULD RESPOND SUBSTANTIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY TO ANY CRITICISMS OF US IMPLEMENTATION. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "WE CAN CONDUCT OUR DELIBERATIONS WITH CANDOR AND FRANKNESS, AND IN THE SPIRIT OF DIALOGUE," BUT HE ADDED THAT "TO MAKE SPEECHES AND ISSUE PRONOUNCEMENTS WHILE AVOIDING REFERENCE TO THE PRAGUE TRIAL WOULD BE A MOCKERY."

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3. CZECHS AND GDR PUT IN IMMEDIATE POINT OF ORDER
"PROTESTS" TO US STATEMENT AND RESERVED RIGHT OF
FURTHER REPLY. DURING COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT DEBATE,
HUNGARY AND POLAND GAVE PREVIOUSLY-PREPARED, ROUTINE
STATEMENTS ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT REFERRING TO US
STATEMENT. UK GAVE STRONG SUPPORTIVE SPEECH
CITING FULL AGREEMENT WITH "SUBSTANCE OF ELOQUENT US
STATEMENT." SWEDEN ALSO GAVE STRONG DEFENSE OF
WESTERN STATES' RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS FREE FROM RESTRAINT UNDER NON-INTERVENTION
PRINCIPLE.

4. MAJOR EASTERN REACTION CAME ONLY WHEN SWISS CHAIRMAN
WAS ABOUT TO ADJOURN MEETING. SOVIET AMBASSADOR, WHO
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HAD JUST ASSUMED CHAIR, INSISTED ON RIGHT TO
REPLY AT ONCE THOUGH SPEAKERS' LIST HAD CLOSED. HE
PROTESTED "IN MOST DECISIVE WAY" ALLEGED US ATTEMPTS
TO INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN
STATES. HE CHARACTERIZED AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S
STATEMENT AS A "MOST PASSIONATE, EMOTIONAL SPEECH

IN FAVOR OF INTERVENTION, A KIND OF AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INTERFERENCE." HE SAID THAT US SPEECH WAS AN "UNWORTHY AND INTOLERABLE" EFFORT TO DISTORT ENTIRE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF FINAL ACT. "POLITICALLY," HE SAID, "THE TURN OF EVENTS THAT WE HAVE HEARD TODAY IS MOST DANGEROUS. THIS IS SOMETHING WE CANNOT OVERLOOK. THE ROUTE ON WHICH THE US IS DRIVING US LEADS NOT ONLY TO UNPRODUCTIVE RESULTS BUT IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS FOR THE ENTIRE TASK THAT WE UNDERTOOK AT HELSINKI. IF THIS CONTINUES, HE SAID, WHILE RESERVING RIGHT TO SPEAK FURTHER AT LATER DATE, "WE SHALL FIND OURSELVES IN A DIFFICULT POSITION."

5. CZECH, BULGARIAN AND GDR REPS ALSO EXERCISED RIGHTS OF REPLY TO "PROTEST" US STATEMENT ALONG SAME LINES USED BY SOVIET REP. BULGARIAN AND GDR REP EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT THEY WERE CRITICIZED FOR THEIR ATTITUDE TO NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE SINCE THEY HAD NOT YET ADDRESSED SUBJECT IN WORKING GROUP. COMMENT: THIS IS LITERALLY TRUE, BUT THEY HAD USED NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS ARGUMENT IN BASKET THREE EARLIER IN WEEK. END COMMENT. IN PERHAPS SHARPEST OF EASTERN STATEMENTS, GDR REP SAID THAT US WAS IN POOR POSITION TO COMPLAIN OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHEN THERE ARE "THOUSANDS OF VIOLATIONS OF MOST BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS" LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITHIN ITS BORDERS EVERY DAY, AND IT HAS BEEN SO TARDY IN SIGNING OR RATIFYING SUCH BASIC DOCUMENTS AS UN COVENANTS AND GENEVA PROTOCOL ON CHEMICAL WARFARE. HE SAID THAT "WE MUST SAY CLEARLY AND DECISIVELY TO THE UNITED STATES THAT IT TAKES THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE CONFERENCE ON ITSELF WITH SUCH ATTACKS. IF THESE ATTACKS CONTINUE, WE WILL REACH MID-FEBRUARY WITH NOTHING TO PUT IN OUR FINAL DOCUMENT EXCEPT A SENTENCE THANKING YUGOSLAVIA FOR ITS HOSPITALITY."

6. US REP (OLIVER) EXERCISED RIGHT OF REPLY TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE AND TO ASSOCIATE USDEL WITH EARLIER UK AND SWEDISH STATEMENTS.

7. WE ARE TRANSMITTING FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S REMARKS TO DEPARTMENT BY SEPTTEL. GOLDBERG

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